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Note: Internet sites included in this publication, other than those of the U.S. government, should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein.

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U.S. PRESIDENCY

On Inauguration Day, January 20, the U.S. President takes the following oath: *"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability; preserve, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the United States"*. The oath is traditionally ended with "So help me God". The Office of President of the United States is one of the most powerful offices of its kind in the world. The president presides over the executive branch of the federal government. In addition, the president has important legislative and judicial powers.

The powers of the president are provided in the United States Constitution. The Constitution is a system of basic laws, and principles that define the rights of American citizens. The Article II of the Constitution sets limits on what the government can and cannot do. It provides the framework for the federal (national) government and establishes a system of federalism, by which responsibilities are divided between the national government and the states' governments. One of the important principles on which the Constitution is based is the separation of powers, which divides power between the three separate branches of the federal government. The legislative branch (represented by Congress) has the power to create laws; the executive branch (represented by the president and his advisers) has the power to enforce laws; and the judicial branch (represented by the Supreme Court and other federal courts) has the power to dismiss or reverse laws that it determines are "unconstitutional." The system of checks and balances is a feature unique to the United States.

The delegates to the 1787 Philadelphia Convention, who framed the U.S. Constitution, brought with them various conceptions of executive power. Generally, deliberations on these questions involved the balance of power in the new government and thought of the presidency as an office of great honor and dignity, but one with little real power. The founding fathers sought to create a government in which, as James Madison explained in *Federalist 51*, "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition." Madison deemed a balance of power necessary, and he called for a governmental arrangement in which it would be in the best interest of all citizens to resist executive encroachment. In the end, with a system of checks and balances included in the Constitution, a single president to manage the executive branch of government was adopted.

The U.S. Constitution requires the president to be a native-born American citizen at least 35 years of age. Candidates for the presidency are chosen by political parties several months before the presidential election, which is held every four years (in years divisible evenly by four) on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The method of electing the president is peculiar to the American system. Although the names of the candidates appear on the ballots, the people technically do not vote directly for the president (and vice president). Instead, the voters of each state select a slate of presidential "electors," equal to the number of senators and representatives that state has in Congress. The candidate with the highest number of votes in each state wins all the "electoral votes" of that state. The president serves a four-year term and may be re-elected only once.

Within the executive branch itself, the president has broad powers to manage national affairs and the workings of the federal government. The president can issue rules, regulations, and instructions called executive orders, which have the binding force of law upon federal agencies but do not require congressional approval. As commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States, the president may also call into federal service the state units of the National Guard. In times of war or national emergency, the Congress may grant the president even broader powers to manage the national economy and protect the security of the United States.

The president has powers in other areas of government, all of which are checked by the Legislative and/or Judicial branches. The president nominates -- and the Senate confirms -- the heads of all-executive departments and agencies, together with hundreds of other high-ranking federal officials. The President is also responsible for preparing the budget of the United States, although the Congress must approve it. Despite the constitutional provision that "all legislative powers" shall be vested in the Congress, the president, as the chief formulator of public policy, has a major legislative role. The president can veto any bill passed by Congress and, unless two-thirds of the members of each house vote to override the veto, the bill does not become law. And much of the legislation dealt with by Congress is drafted at the initiative of the executive branch.

In annual and special messages to Congress, the president may propose legislation he believes is necessary. The most important of these is the State of the Union Address traditionally given in January. The President

also outlines the status of the country and his legislative proposals for the upcoming year before a joint session of Congress. If Congress should adjourn without acting on those proposals, the president has the power to call it into special session. Beyond this official role, the president, as head of a political party and as principal executive officer of the U.S. government, is primarily in a position to influence public opinion and thereby to influence the course of legislation in Congress

The president of the United States communicates to executive agencies and staff, Congress and staff, other government officials both domestic and foreign, and to the people of the United States or of the world. Depending on the situation or requirement, these communications take specific forms such as the treaty message or the executive order and as such are issued in specific sources. The Annual State of the Union Address is printed in the daily Congressional Record because it is given before both houses of Congress. It is also printed in the congressional serial set in the document series, in The Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, and in the Public Papers of the Presidents. The now formally numbered executive orders are printed in the daily Federal Register. These executive orders are also messages so may be printed in other presidential papers or in secondary sources.

When a president leaves office, the Office of Presidential Libraries of the National Archives and Records Administration establishes a presidential project until a new presidential library is built, it is transferred to the Government. The Presidential Library system administers the nationwide network of libraries. These continue to serve as repositories for preserving and making available the papers, records, and other historical materials of U.S. presidents. Each Presidential Library contains a museum and provides an active series of public programs.

The role of the executive in the United States government has changed as office holders shaped the presidency and interpreted their powers in various ways. It has grown from that of a largely honorary officer to a powerful leader in national and international affairs. He is the single, unifying force in a political system in which power is highly dispersed. Probably no other person exercises as much influence in today's world as the president of the United States. What the president does cannot fail to affect the course of history.

However, the greatest power, a U.S. president has is not found in the Constitution. It is the power to persuade and convince the U.S. public. If

the president can get the public behind him, he becomes unstoppable. Congress cannot and will not oppose him if he can show Congress that the public supports him on a certain issue. For this reason, the power to shape public opinion is a great one.

The articles included in this section outline the role of American National Government; explain functions of the executive branch; role of the president; and outline presidential powers and responsibilities.

For additional information, a webliography is presented here for your use. However, the inclusion of Internet sites other than those of the U.S. government should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein. The websites are current as of date and are subject to change at any time.

U.S. PRESIDENCY

Abraham Lincoln online
<http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln.html>

American Memory Historical Collections for the National Digital Library
<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/amhome.html>

The American Presidency
<http://ap.grolier.com/>

The American Presidency: A Glorious Burden
<http://americanhistory.si.edu/presidency/home.html>

American Presidents Life Portraits
<http://www.americanpresidents.org/>

Election 2004
<http://teacher.scholastic.com/activities/election2004/>

Foreign Policy Roles of the President and Congress
<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/politics/pres/fpolicy.htm>

George Washington Papers: 1741-1799
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/>

"I Do Solemnly Swear..." Presidential Inaugurations
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/pihtml/pihome.html>

Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States

<http://www.bartleby.com/124/>

Living Former Presidents of the United States

<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/politics/pres/oldpres.htm>

Monticello: The home of Thomas Jefferson

<http://www.monticello.org/>

National Archives and Records Administration

<http://www.archives.gov/index.html>

New Deal Network

<http://newdeal.feri.org/>

An Outline of American History

<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/history/toc.htm>

POTUS: Presidents of the United States

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/>

Powers of the Presidency

<http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/outusgov/ch3.htm>

The President

<http://bensguide.gpo.gov/9-12/government/national/president.html>

President: The Presidential Libraries Web

<http://www.ibiblio.org/lia/president/>

Presidential and Vice Presidential Succession: Overview and Current Legislation

<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/politics/pres/succession.pdf>

Presidential Libraries: A Brief History

http://www.archives.gov/presidential_libraries/about/history.html

Presidential News and Speeches

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news>

The Presidents of the United States

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/>

Step-by-Step on the Campaign Trail - How the President Gets Elected

<http://www.factmonster.com/ipka/A0878225.html>

U.S. Department of State - Foreign Relations

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/>

U. S. Government Manual: 2003/2004 Edition

<http://www.gpoaccess.gov/gmanual/browse-gm-03.html>

WHITE HOUSE: OFFICES AND AGENCIES

Executive Office of the President

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/government/eop.html>

Council of Economic Advisers

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/cea/>

Council on Environmental Quality

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/ceq/>

Domestic Policy Council

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/dpc/>

Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/pfiab/index.html>

National Economic Council

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nec/>

National Security Council

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/index.html>

Office of Administration

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/oa/>

Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/government/fbci/>

Office of Management and Budget

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/OMB/>

Office of National AIDS Policy

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/onap/aids.html>

Office of National Drug Control Policy

<http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/about/index.html>

Office of Science and Technology Policy

http://www.ostp.gov/html/_whatwedo.html

Office of the U.S. Trade Representative
<http://www.ustr.gov/about-ustr/ustrrole.shtml>

President's Critical Infrastructure Protection Board
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/pcipb/>

The White House
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/>

White House Briefing
<http://lii.org/search?goto=020694>

White House Military Office
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/whmo/>

THE CABINET

The President's Cabinet
<http://bensguide.gpo.gov/9-12/government/national/cabinet.html>

U.S. Department of Agriculture
<http://www.usda.gov>

U.S. Department of Commerce
<http://www.doc.gov>

U.S. Department of Defense
<http://www.defenselink.mil>

U.S. Department of Education
<http://www.ed.gov/index.jsp>

U.S. Department of Energy
<http://www.energy.gov/index.html>

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
<http://www.os.dhhs.gov>

U.S. Department of Homeland Security
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/>

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
<http://www.hud.gov>

U.S. Department of the Interior
<http://www.doi.gov/>

U.S. Department of Justice
<http://www.usdoj.gov>

U.S. Department of Labor
<http://www.dol.gov>

U.S. Department of State
<http://www.state.gov>

U.S. Department of Transportation
<http://www.dot.gov>

U.S. Department of the Treasury
<http://www.ustreas.gov>

U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs
<http://www.va.gov>

FEDERAL AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
<http://www.achp.gov>

Central Intelligence Agency
<http://www.cia.gov>

Commodities Futures Trading Commission
<http://www.cftc.gov/>

Consumer Product Safety Commission
<http://www.cpsc.gov>

Environmental Protection Agency
<http://www.epa.gov>

Federal Communications Commission
<http://www.fcc.gov/>

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
<http://www.fdic.gov/>

Federal Election Commission
<http://www.fec.gov>

Federal Emergency Management Agency
<http://www.fema.gov>

Federal Reserve Board
<http://www.federalreserve.gov/>

Federal Trade Commission
<http://www.ftc.gov>

National Security Agency
<http://www.nsa.gov>

National Aeronautics and Space Administration
<http://www.nasa.gov/home/index.html>

National Archives and Records Administration
<http://www.archives.gov/index.html>

National Commission on Libraries and Information Science
<http://www.nclis.gov>

National Endowment for the Arts
<http://www.arts.gov>

National Endowment for the Humanities
<http://www.neh.gov>

National Labor Relations Board
<http://www.nlr.gov>

National Science Foundation
<http://www.nsf.gov>

Nuclear Regulatory Commission
<http://www.nrc.gov>
Peace Corps
<http://www.peacecorps.gov>

President's Council on Physical Fitness
<http://www.fitness.gov/aboutpcpfs/aboutpcpfs.html>

Securities and Exchange Commission
<http://www.sec.gov>

Small Business Administration
<http://www.sbaonline.sba.gov>

Smithsonian Institution
<http://www.si.edu>

Social Security Administration
<http://www.ssa.gov>

Selective Service System
<http://www.sss.gov>

U.S. Agency for International Development
<http://www.usaid.gov>

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
<http://www.eeoc.gov/>

U.S. International Trade Commission
<http://www.usitc.gov>

U.S. Office of Government Ethics
<http://www.usoge.gov>

U.S. Postal Service
<http://www.usps.gov>

Voice of America
<http://www.voa.gov>

PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

National Archives and Records Administration
http://www.archives.gov/presidential_libraries/

William J. Clinton (1993-2001)
<http://clinton.archives.gov/>

George Bush (1989-1993)
<http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/>

Ronald Reagan (1981-1989)
<http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/>

Jimmy Carter (1977-1981)
<http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/>

Gerald R. Ford (1974-1977)
<http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/>

Richard M. Nixon (1969-1974)
<http://www.archives.gov/nixon/>

Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969)
<http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/>

John F. Kennedy (1961-1963)
<http://www.jfklibrary.org/>

Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961)
<http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/>

Harry S. Truman (1945-1953)
<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/>

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945)
<http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/>

Herbert Hoover (1929-1933)
<http://hoover.archives.gov/>

1. AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT: AN OVERVIEW

By Frederick M. Kaiser. Congressional Research Service, May 20, 2003. 6 p.

"If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place, oblige it to control itself," says James Madison, *Federalist No. 51*. Power in American national government is decentralized, divided, dispersed, and limited. This distribution of power derives in part from the Constitution, through limitations imposed on the government, the system of checks and balances among the three branches, and independent bases of support and authority for each branch.

2. THE ART OF PRESIDENTIAL USURPATION

By William J. Olson and Alan A. Woll. USA Today Magazine, November 2000, pp. 10-13.

"Throughout the nation's history, presidents have been able to use executive orders to circumvent the Constitution's division of power." This article offers a look at the presidential usurpation of legislative power in the United States. The authors write, "Presidential usurpation of legislative power has been a problem from the beginning, but grew exponentially with the 20th-century expansion of government. Moreover, Congress and the courts have not only failed to check, but have actually abetted the expansion of presidential power. Nevertheless, recent developments offer hope that constitutional limits – and the separation and division of powers, in particular – may eventually be restored." They cite examples of presidential directives issued by U.S. President Bill Clinton that bypassed the Congress, actions taken by the U.S. Supreme Court to limit executive usurpation, and provide details on the National Emergencies Act.

3. CONGRESSIONAL OVERRIDES OF PRESIDENTIAL VETOES

By Gary L. Galemore. Congressional Research Service, November 4, 2000, 5 p.

The President's veto authority is among his most significant tools in legislative dealings with Congress. It is effective not only in preventing the passage of legislation undesirable to the President, but also as a threat, sometimes forcing Congress to modify legislation before it is presented to the President. Executive-legislative relations suggest that Congress's strength rests with passing statutes and the President's in vetoing them. Illustrative of this point is the fact that Presidents have vetoed 1,484 bills and Congress has overridden only 106 of them. President William Clinton has vetoed 36 bills. Congress has overridden two of these vetoes. As a veto threat is carried out, Congress is faced with choices: letting the veto stand, the difficult task of overriding the veto, meeting the President's objections and sending a new bill forward, or resubmitting the same provisions under a new bill number 1. In the case of vetoed appropriations bills, the result can be the closure of federal agencies and the furlough of hundreds of thousands of federal employees, with the inevitable disruption of federal programs and services.

4. EXECUTIVE BRANCH POWER TO POSTPONE ELECTIONS

By Kenneth R. Thomas. Congressional Research Service, July 14, 2004. 9 p.

Because of the continuing threat of terrorism, concerns have been raised about the potential for terrorist events to occur close to or during the vot-

ing process for the November 2004 elections. For instance, the question has been raised as to whether a sufficiently calamitous event could result in the postponement of the election, and what mechanisms are in place to deal with such an event. This report focuses on who has the constitutional authority to postpone elections, to whom such power could be delegated, and what legal limitations exist to such a postponement. Traditionally, all voting – whether federal, state or local – occurs in local precinct polling places, and state or local authorities have a significant role in regulating such voting. Congress, however, also has authority to regulate elections, and that authority may vary depending on whether the election is for the Presidency, the House, the Senate, or for state or local offices. While the Executive Branch has significant delegated authority regarding some aspects of election law, this authority does not currently extend to setting or changing the times of elections. Under a variety of possible scenarios that could arise as a result of a terrorist attack before or during an election, either the Congress or the states might pass legislation which would affect the timing of these elections. The suggestion has been made, however, that the Executive Branch might have some role in determining whether an election is to occur or whether it can be cancelled. While the Executive Branch does not currently have this power, it appears that Congress may be able to delegate this power to the Executive Branch by enacting a statute.

5. FEDERAL BUDGET PROCESS REFORM: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

By Bill Heniff, Jr. and Robert Keith. Congressional Research Service, July 8, 2004. 6 p.

In 2004, during the second session of the 108th Congress, the House and Senate face a wide array of budget process reform proposals, pertaining to such matters as restoration of the statutory discretionary spending limits and PAYGO requirement, modifications to budget resolution and reconciliation procedures, biennial budgeting, and constitutional amendments. (The House defeated one budget process reform measure, H.R. 4663, the Spending Control Act of 2004, on June 24 by a vote of 146- 268.) The House and Senate may pursue budget process reform in various ways, including modifications to each chamber's rules and practices, the enactment of freestanding legislation, or the inclusion of budget process changes in other budgetary legislation, such as a reconciliation or debt-limit measure. This report provides a context for congressional actions in this area and briefly discusses selected proposals illustrate the diversity of issues involved.

6. GEORGE WASHINGTON: HERO OF THE CONFEDERACY?

By William F B Vodrey. American History, October 2004, pp. 58-64.

Vodrey profiles George Washington, the first U.S. president as the "Father of our Country." Born on February 22, 1732, near Wakefield, Virginia, he was a planter, surveyor, soldier in the French and Indian War, a politician in Virginia's House of Burgesses and member of the first and second Continental Congresses. A natural leader with extensive military training, he served as commander in chief of the Continental Army through eight hard years of war, sometimes holding his army together by sheer force of will. he rejected a crown, which many of his officers would gladly have given him. he presided over the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and, of course, was the first president of the United States, from 1789 to 1797. He died in peaceful retirement at Mount Vernon on December 14, 1799. More than any other individual, Washington was responsible for securing the independence of the United States, and for establishing a government that would ensure its survival and success. Its capital rightly bears his name.

7. THE LAW: RECESS APPOINTMENTS TO ARTICLE III COURTS

By Henry B. Hogue. Presidential Studies Quarterly, September 2004, pp. 656-663.

Under the Constitution, the president and the Senate share the power to appoint officers of the United States, including federal judges. The Constitution also empowers the president to make temporary appointments without the Senate's approval during Senate recesses. Presidents have made over 300 recess appointments to Article III courts, but the practice has become rare in the last 40 years. Although courts have found tension between Article II and Article III inherent in judicial recess appointments, the practice has been held to be constitutional. Intrasection recess appointments, particularly during recesses of less than 30 days, have sometimes proven controversial.

8. PREDICTING THE PRESIDENTIAL PRESENCE: EXPLAINING PRESIDENTIAL MIDTERM ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN BEHAVIOR

By Matthew Hoddie and Stephen R. Routh. Political Research Quarterly, June 2004, pp. 257-265.

In this article, the authors analyze the campaign behavior of presidents in the congressional midterm elections held between 1954 and 1998. They seek to identify those factors that influence a president's decision to visit a particular state during the midterm election season and campaign. Employing a negative binomial regression model, Hoddie and Routh find

that presidents determine their midterm election campaign schedule based on a consideration of the differences among the 50 states in terms of both the chief executives personal popularity and the number of competitive races being held. The importance of these factors suggests that there is an underlying strategy to a president's campaign activity during the midterm election season that is comparable to campaigns for the presidency itself.

9. THE PRESIDENT AND THE PUBLIC: INAUGURAL ADDRESSES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By Michael J. Korzi. Congress & the Presidency, Spring 2004, pp. 21-52.

This article examines presidential inaugural addresses to gain a perspective on the changing relationship between the people and the presidency throughout American political history. The analysis suggests three distinct models of inaugural address—constitutional, party, and plebiscitary—each articulating a different understanding of presidential leadership and the relationship between the presidency and the people. The constitutional presidents see themselves largely as restrained, constitutional officers with a minimal relationship to the people. The party model yields a role for the president which is more tied to the people's will, especially as expressed through party. Even though tied more strongly to the public, party presidents recognize constitutional limits on their roles and powers. Plebiscitary presidents often eschew party affiliation and the guise of constrained constitutional officer, and cast themselves as engines of the American political system fully tied to public opinion. Plebiscitary presidents often make few references to other political actors or to the Constitution. Beyond helping to better understand the contours of American political development, this analysis challenges the prevalent assumption in studies of the presidency that nineteenth-century presidents were not popular or "public" leaders.

10. PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION: OVERVIEW AND CURRENT LEGISLATION

By Thomas H. Neale. Congressional Research Service, March 25, 2003, 11 p.

This report traces the evolution of succession procedures and reviews contemporary practices and pending legislation. Whenever the Office of President of the United States becomes vacant due to "removal ... death or resignation" of the chief executive, the Constitution provides that "the Vice President shall become President." When the office of Vice President becomes vacant for any reason, the President nominates a

successor, who must be confirmed by a majority vote of both houses of Congress. If both of these offices are vacant simultaneously, then, under the Succession Act of 1947, the Speaker of the House of Representatives becomes President, after resigning from the House and as Speaker. If the speakership is also vacant, then the President Pro Tempore of the Senate becomes President, after resigning from the Senate and as President Pro Tempore. If both of these offices are vacant, or if the incumbents fail to qualify for any reason, then the cabinet officers are eligible to succeed, in the order in which their departments were created. In every case, a potential successor must be duly sworn in his or her previous office, and must meet other constitutional requirements for the presidency, i.e., be at least 35 years of age, a "natural born citizen," and for 14 years, a "resident within the United States." Succession-related provisions are derived from the Constitution, statutory law, and political precedents of the past two centuries.

11. PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVES: BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

By Harold C. Rebye. Congressional Research Service, February 10, 2003, 15 p.

From time to time, presidents have issued directive establishing new policy, decreeing the commencement or cessation of some action, or ordaining that notice be given to some declaration. The instruments used by presidents in these regards have come to be known by various names, and some have prescribed forms and purposes. This report reviews the different kinds of directives that have primarily been used by twentieth century presidents, providing background on their historical development, accounting, use, and effect.

12. THE ROAD TO THE PRESIDENCY

By Steph Smith. Scholastic News, September 6, 2004, pp. 4-5.

This paper presents a step-by-step guide on the road that the candidates for President have taken so far. Smith writes, "The race to become United States President is in its final stage, and two men – President George W. Bush and U.S. Senator John F. Kerry – are the top contenders. Election Day, November 2, is less than two months away! Bush and Kerry accepted their parties' nominations for President at separate national conventions this summer. The Democrats named Kerry their candidate in July in Boston, Massachusetts. The Republicans nominated Bush last week in New York City. Bush and Kerry are not the only ones running for the top elected post in the U.S., but they represent the two major parties. Bush and Kerry now have the tough job of winning over voters. Both men have to convince

voters that he would do the better job of protecting the country against terrorists and creating jobs. These are among the many issues on which people will decide their vote. The 2004 presidential campaign is already the longest in U.S. history, and it is far from over. Running for President is a demanding process.

13. U.S. PRESIDENTS AND THE USE OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

By A. Cooper Drury. Presidential Studies Quarterly, December 2000, pp. 623-642.

What conditions lead the U.S. president to use and alter economic sanctions? Both relations with the target country and domestic politics are considered as conditions leading to the employment and later removal of economic sanctions. Using time-series cross-sectional data the analysis shows that the president considers both the relations with the target country and U. S. domestic factors when deciding to impose economic sanctions, although the relations with the target have a much greater impact on the decision. Once the economic sanctions are in place and the president must decide to maintain or alter them, the domestic political influence disappears, and the president considers only the relations with the target when modifying sanction policy. With the end of the cold war, states have begun using economic sanctions with much greater frequency. Increased economic ties leading to a greater ability to impose economic sanctions, the end of the Security Council gridlock, and the desire to rely less on military force make economic sanctions a preferred option for states wanting to influence or coerce others. Following this trend, studies of economic sanctions have also increased

BUSINESS & ECONOMICS

THE IMF AND THE FORCE OF HISTORY: TEN EVENTS AND TEN IDEAS THAT HAVE SHAPED THE INSTITUTION

By James M. Boughton. International Monetary Fund, May 21, 2004. 25 p.

www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2004/wp0475.pdf

The founders of the International Monetary Fund possessed a worldview that had been shaped by the World War II and the Great Depression. Their views on how the postwar international monetary system should function were also shaped by their economics training and their nationalities. After the IMF began functioning as an institution, its evolution was similarly driven by a combination of political events (Suez, African independence, the collapse of global communism), economic events (the rising economic power

of Europe, the Middle East, and Asia), and trends and cycles in economic theory (the monetary approach to the balance of payments, new classical economics, the rise and fall of the Washington Consensus). As they happened, these forces had effects that were perceived as adaptations to current events and new ideas within a fixed institutional structure and mandate. The cumulative effect of history on the institution has been rather more profound and requires a longer and larger perspective.

STANDARDS AND AGRO-FOOD EXPORTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: REBALANCING THE DEBATE

By Steven Jaffee and Spencer Henson. World Bank, June 25, 2004. 44 p.

http://econ.worldbank.org/files/36684_wps3348.pdf

This paper suggests that the picture for developing countries as a whole is not necessarily problematic and certainly is less pessimistic than the mainstream. Indeed, rising standards serve to accentuate underlying supply chain strengths and weaknesses and thus impact differently on the competitive position of individual countries and distinct market participants. Some countries and/or industries are even using high quality and safety standards to successfully reposition themselves in competitive global markets. This emphasizes the importance of considering the impacts of food safety and agricultural health measures within the context of wider capacity constraints and underlying supply chain trends and drivers. The key question for developing countries is how to exploit their strengths and overcome their weaknesses such that they are gainers rather than losers in the emerging commercial and regulatory context.

14. THE CULTURAL PARADIGM OF THE SMALLER FIRM

By Helen Haugh and Lorna McKee. Journal of Small Business Management, October 2004, pp. 377-394.

This paper presents the findings from an ethnographic study of organizational culture and shared values in four smaller firms, the outcome of which was the identification of the cultural values shared between owner-managers (OMs) and employees in each firm. The research employed Schein's conceptualization of culture as a three-layer phenomenon, consisting of surface artifacts, shared values and beliefs, and basic assumptions. The analytical technique of grounded theory was employed

to process the large volume of data gathered during the extended research period. The data reveal a complex array of values in each firm, with only one firm exhibiting a homogenous culture where values are shared by all those working in the organization. In the remaining three firms, five values appear to be shared by all employees; however, this is overlaid by a pattern of subcultures differentiated by distinctive shared values. Interfirm analysis among the four firms found that the values of survival, independence, control, pragmatism, and financial prudence were shared by two or more firms.

15. LAWS OF LABOR: CORE LABOR STANDARDS AND GLOBAL TRADE

By Maria C. Mattioli and V.K. Sapovadia. Harvard International Review, Summer 2004, pp. 60-64.

The authors focuses on the status of child labor, forced labor and the efforts of concerned governments and other stakeholders in setting a good investment climate. They explain benefits of developing countries from expanding global service and production networks; reason behind the importance of labor policy to garner investment and promote sustainable development; significance of stable macroeconomic environment to a developing country; and requirements in promoting a positive investment climate.

16. SEVEN SURPRISES FOR NEW CEOS

By Michael E. Porter, Jay W. Lorsch, & Nitin Nohria. Harvard Business Review, October 2004, pp. 62-72.

This article focuses on seven ideas that challenge new chief executive officers and offers advice on making necessary adjustments. The warning signs of the seven "surprises" are discussed. The author relates how to tell when you cannot run the company, when giving orders has costs, why it is had to know what is really going on, when you seem to always be sending messages, when you are not the boss, why pleasing shareholders is not the goal, and how you discover you are only human. CEO legitimacy can be lost because the vision is unconvincing, actions are not consistent with espoused values, or self-interest is put before the company's welfare. CEOs need to establish conditions that help others make decisions and take action. The author's view is that a CEO must earn a moral mandate to lead.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS & SECURITY

NUCLEAR RISK REDUCTION CENTRES IN SOUTH ASIA. WORKING GROUP REPORT

Center for Strategic & International Studies, May 28, 2004. 33 p.

<http://www.csis.org/isp/nrrc/>

A working group consisting of Indian, Pakistani, and U.S. experts conducted a study of the value of nuclear risk reduction centres (NRRCs) in India and Pakistan. The main functions of the NRRCs would be to provide each party a dedicated, secure means of: (1) notifying the other side about activities or events on its territory that might be misperceived or misinterpreted and lead to conflict, (2) exchanging information that the two countries are obliged to exchange under existing security agreements, and (3) seeking and receiving clarifications about ambiguous events on the territory of the other side. Other functions could include the conduct of joint exercises of certain NRRC notification procedures, technical back-up during crises, and support for consultations on the implementation of existing confidence-building measures (CBMs).

TWELFTH PUBLIC HEARING OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TERRORIST ATTACKS UPON THE UNITED STATES

*The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States [9-11
Commission] June 16, 2004. 12 p.*

<http://www.9-11commission.gov/hearings/hearing12.htm>

This report provides a brief history of al Qaeda, the evolution of its organizational structure, and information about the financing of the group by Usama Bin Ladin and others. Contrary to popular understanding, Bin Ladin did not fund al Qaeda through a personal fortune and a network of businesses. Instead, al Qaeda relied primarily on a fundraising network developed over time. According to the report, Bin Laden relied on couriers and the informal hawala system to move funds in and out of Afghanistan via Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates and elsewhere in the Middle East. Recent information indicates that al Qaeda's fundraising has declined since the attacks in the United States, and that control of the organization is much more decentralized than it was prior to the attacks.

17. WILL THE NEW BIOLOGY LEAD TO NEW WEAPONS?

By Mark Wheelis. *Arms Control Today*, July/August 2004, pp. 6-9 & 11-13.

Biology is in the midst of what can only be described as a revolution. It began in the mid-1970s with the development of recombinant DNA technology. Slowly at first but with increasing speed, related technologies have been developed that have dramatically expanded the experimental capabilities of modern research biologists and that are rapidly being adopted in such areas of applied biology as drug development. This new technology will have great power both for peaceful and hostile uses. Wheelis discusses the uses as military technology.

COMMUNICATION & INFORMATION

THE COMING REVOLUTION IN INFORMATION MARKETS

By Robert W. Hahn and Paul C. Tetlock. *AEI-Brookings Joint Center for Regulatory Studies*, August 2004. 19 p.

<http://www.aei-brookings.org/admin/authorpdfs/page.php?id=1019>

Information markets are markets for contracts that yield payments based on the outcome of an uncertain future event, such as a presidential election. The authors examine how information markets combined with pay-for-performance contracts have the potential to revolutionize the way the government, the non-profit world, and the private sector do business.

18. BUILDING KNOWLEDGE FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING – THE PROMISE OF SCHOLARSHIP IN A NETWORKED ENVIRONMENT

By Thomas Hatch, Randy Bass, & Toru Ilyoshi. *Change*, September/October 2004, pp. 42-49.

Researchers demonstrate that new technologies such as the Internet can provide a new medium for the production and exchange of knowledge that can transform education. The authors discuss the promise, as well as the challenges, of creating multimedia applications, web-based tools and networked information systems.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

19. BUILDING SECURE ELECTIONS: E-VOTING, SECURITY, AND SYSTEMS THEORY

By Donald P. Moynihan. Public Administration Review, September/October 2004, pp. 515-528.

The increased use of information technology promises to revolutionize both the provision of government services and the vibrancy of democracy. In the aftermath of the Florida voting controversy during the 2000 presidential election, governments have placed their faith in technology, adopting e-voting machines that offer enhanced voter convenience and eliminate the need for subjective recounts. However, the same underlying assumptions that apply to e-government theory do not apply to e-voting because of the severity of consequences if failure occurs and the loss of transparency traditionally associated with the voting process. A more useful theoretical guide is systems theory, which deals with complex, high-risk systems. This literature has been largely overlooked by adopters of e-voting technology, even though the practical criticisms of e-voting made by computer security specialists reflect an essentially systems theory perspective.

20. LEARNING FROM DIVERSITY: A THEORETICAL EXPLORATION

By Erica Gabrielle Foldy. Public Administration Review, September/October 2004, pp. 529-538.

Public-sector organizations tend to be more racially and ethnically diverse than private-sector organizations, leading to the challenge of enhancing heterogeneous work group effectiveness. Recent work suggests that a group's "diversity perspective," or set of beliefs about the role of cultural diversity, moderates diverse group performance. One perspective, the integration and learning perspective, argues that heterogeneous groups function better when they believe that cultural identities can be tapped as sources of new ideas and experiences about work. However, simply holding the integration and learning perspective may not be sufficient. Research on general group learning has shown that it requires particular behaviors and cognitive frames. This article integrates recent work on diversity perspectives with long-standing research on team learning to propose a conceptual model of learning in culturally diverse groups. It suggests that both the integration and learning perspective and more generic learning frames and skills must be present.

21. WHY DEMOCRACIES EXCEL

By Joseph T. Siegle, Michael M. Weinstein & Morton H. Halperin. Foreign Affairs, September/October 2004, pp. 57-61.

The article contends that economic development does not necessarily have to precede democracy. Dispelling the "development first, democracy later" argument is critical not only because it is wrong but also because it has led to atrocious policies. Why has the development-first myth prevailed? First, it rests on a common-sense notion, put forward by political sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset and others, that economic growth creates the necessary preconditions for democracy by expanding literacy, creating a secure middle class, and nurturing cosmopolitan attitudes. As compelling as the development-first thesis sounds, the empirical evidence is clear: democracies consistently outperform autocracies in the developing world. The more representative, transparent, and accountable governmental processes are, the more likely policies and practices will respond to the basic priorities of the general population. A development-first strategy risks perpetuating the deadly cycle of poverty, conflict, and oppression. By contrast, a democracy-centered development strategy presupposes not only that poor countries can successfully democratize but also that democracy brings political checks and balances, responsiveness to citizen priorities, openness, and self-correcting mechanisms – all of which contribute to steady growth and superior living conditions.

GLOBAL ISSUES

22. NGOS: FIGHTING POVERTY, HURTING THE POOR

By Sebastian Mallaby. Foreign Policy, September/October 2004, pp.50-58.

NGOs claim to campaign on behalf of poor people, yet many of their campaigns harm the poor. They claim to protect the environment, but by forcing the World Bank to pull out of sensitive projects, they cause these schemes to go ahead without the environmental safeguards that the bank would have imposed on them. Likewise, NGOs purport to hold the World Bank accountable, yet the bank is answerable to the governments who are its shareholder; it is the NGOs' accountability that is murky. Furthermore, the offensives mounted by activist groups sometimes have no basis in fact whatsoever. The World Bank's predicament is part of a larger conundrum that bedevils globalization. In many of the world's rich capitals, and especially in Washington, public policy is decided by a bewildering array of interest groups campaigning single-mindedly for narrow goals.

23. STRANGERS IN OUR MIDST: THE PROBLEM OF INVASIVE ALIEN SPECIES

By Jeffrey A. McNeely. *Environment*, July/August 2004, pp. 16-31.

McNeely discusses the biological threat associated with invasive alien species. Costs of combating invasive species such as Zebra mussels in the Caspian and Black Sea and water hyacinth in the African and Asian waterways; Consideration of how species continue to expand and contract their geographic ranges according to human intervention; How natural barriers such as mountains, rivers, and deserts provide isolation which allows unique species to evolve under certain circumstances; Opportunities for tourists to carry invasive species across international borders; Influence of sport fisherman who import their favorite game fish into new river systems. INSETS: *Invasive Alien Species and Protected Areas*; *Electronic Sources of Information*; and *What Can an Individual Do?*

24. THE TERRORISM TO COME

By Walter Laqueur. *Policy Review*, August/September 2004, pp. 49-64.

Laqueur asserts that terrorism is not caused by oppression and exploitation as much as nationalist, ethnic, religious, and tribal conflicts. Solving these conflicts would probably bring about a certain reduction in the incidence of terrorism, but the conflicts are many, and are not easy to define – let alone to solve. Although there can be no final victory in the fight against terrorism, it is in our power to make life for terrorists and potential terrorists much more difficult.

25. THE THREAT OF THEARCHY

By Arnold Brown. *Futurist*, September/October 2004, pp. 26-29.

Brown discusses the impact of the militancy of religions on the political and cultural trends from around the world. "The fundamental struggle over governance in the Western world in the last 200 years has been between rule by man and rule by law. We are increasingly seeing another element introduced into this conflict: rule by God, or thearchy (as opposed to theocracy, rule by priests). While much of the impetus comes from outside the West -fueled by Islamic fundamentalism – there is a strong and growing internal component as well," writes the author. He explains the growth of evangelical protestants; belief of the people in the U.S. on biblical prophecies; and effect of religious conflicts on trade and professional associations.

26. EDUCATING ENTREPRENEURSHIP STUDENTS ABOUT EMOTION AND LEARNING FROM FAILURE

By Dean A. Shepherd. Academy of Management Learning & Education, September 2004, pp. 274-287.

As theory develops and increases an understanding of the role of emotion in learning from failure, entrepreneurship educators have the opportunity to reflect these advancements in their pedagogies. This requires a focus on how students "feel" rather than on how, or what, they "think." The author suggests changes to pedagogy to help students manage the emotions of learning from failure and discuss some of the challenges associated with measuring the implications of these proposed changes. He also expands scope to explore possibilities of educating students on how to manage their emotions to avoid failure and, more generally, improve their emotional intelligence and for organizations to improve their ability to help individuals regulate their emotions.

27. HEARTBEAT POETRY

By Nicole Garbarini. Scientific American, October 2004, pp. 30-32.

The article looks at research that shows how reading hexametric poetry, such as "The Iliad," can improve a person's health. German physiologists have shown that poetry can get heart beating in time with breaths. This synchronization may improve gas exchange in the lungs as well as the body's sensitivity and responsiveness to blood pressure changes. Dirk Cysarz of the Herdecke Community Hospital and Institute of Mathematics at the University of Witten/Herdecke says that one of his collaborators, speech therapist Petric Von Bonin, had extensive experience with the hexametric poetry form and felt it would yield the most promising results. Rafael Campo, a poet and physician at Harvard Medical School, notes that hexameter in English is not one of the most appealing forms of poetry. He postulates, however, that something inherent in physiology may have enabled this pattern of poetry to take shape. Other studies have shown that rhythmic vocal recitations enhance cardiovascular activity. Cysarz wants to study the effects of this poetry recitation in people with hypertension.

28. PUBLIC OPINION ON FOREIGN POLICY: THE MULTILATERAL PUBLIC THAT PERCEIVES ITSELF AS UNILATERAL

By Alexander Todorov & Anesu N Mandisodza. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Fall 2004, pp. 323-348.

Americans have a strong preference for multilateral foreign policies over unilateral foreign policies. But do Americans know their own preferences? Data from a national survey show wide misperceptions of public opinion on foreign policy. While Americans strongly prefer multilateral policies, they overestimate public support for unilateral policies. For example, while only 23 percent of respondents agreed that the more important lesson of September 11 is that the United States should work alone to fight terrorism rather than work with other countries, respondents estimated that almost 50 percent of Americans endorsed this view. Moreover, misperceptions of public opinion were related to subsequent judgments of specific policies. For example, respondents who incorrectly perceived the unilateral view as the majority view were 1.84 times more likely to support a presidential decision to invade Iraq without the approval of the United Nations (UN) Security Council than respondents who correctly perceived the unilateral view as the minority view. Misperceptions of public opinion were also associated with the belief that the current foreign policy reflects the opinions of the American people. This belief in the legitimacy of the foreign policy was as strong a predictor of support for specific unilateral policies as respondents' attitudes.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

29. GENE DOPING

By H. Lee Sweeney. *Scientific American*, July 2004, pp. 62-69.

The article discusses doping in sports. Despite repeated scandals, doping has become irresistible to many athletes, if only to keep pace with competitors who are doing it. Sports authorities fear that a new form of doping will be undetectable and thus much less preventable. Treatments that regenerate muscle, increase its strength, and protect it from degradation will soon be entering human clinical trials for muscle-wasting disorders. Among these are therapies that give patients a synthetic gene, which can last for years, producing high amounts of naturally occurring muscle-building chemicals. This kind of gene therapy could transform the lives of the elderly and people with muscular dystrophy. Unfortunately, it is also a dream come true for an athlete bent on doping. Preventing athletes from gaining access to them could become impossible. INSET: *Natural Advantage*.

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